

## THE BENEFICIAL POLICY OF POPE CLEMENT VI IN THE DIOCESE OF TRANSYLVANIA (1342-1352)

**Abstract.** The purpose of this study is to present and analyse the involvement of Pope Clement VI in appointments to various ecclesiastical benefices in the Diocese of Transylvania. The key moment of this action, as well as its starting point, was the papal document of 8 October 1325, whereby Pope John XXII reserved the exclusive right to appoint the Bishops of Győr, Oradea, Pécs and Transylvania. As of this moment, which marked the official involvement of the papacy in the dioceses east of Hungary, the French pontiffs supplanted the local churchly institutions in distributing various ecclesiastical benefices. Pope Clement VI pursued the most intense beneficial policy in the Diocese of Transylvania, as he appointed 20 canons here. The canons appointed in Alba Iulia were mostly from the Kingdom of Hungary, although there were also allogeneic elements, Poles and Czechs in particular. One of the canons was Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, the nephew of the pope. The ecclesiastical benefices in the Diocese of Transylvania were granted by Clement VI at the intervention of highly influential persons, both temporal and ecclesiastical, who wanted to reward their relatives or collaborators with such income-related positions.

**Keywords:** Beneficial policy, Clement VI, Transylvania, Canon, chapter

### Preliminaries

Between 1309 and 1377, thanks to a series of events which are not the object of the present study, the seat of the papacy was relocated from Rome to Avignon. During this time, only pontiffs of French extraction succeeded at the helm of the Holy See: Clement V (1305-1314), John XXII (1316-1334), Benedict XII (1334-1342), Clement VI (1342-1352), Innocent VI (1352-1362), Urban V (1362-1370) and Gregory XI (1370-1378). The French popes demonstrated outstanding competency in managing and leading the Church, its governance mechanisms being concentrated at the level of the pontiff's person. One of the aspects that characterised the Avignon Papacy was the beneficial policy, in other words, the right of the sovereign pontiff to grant the major and minor ecclesiastical benefices.<sup>2</sup> The centralization and concentration of ecclesiastical appointments in the hands of the papacy actually began on 27 August 1265, through the *Licet ecclesiarum* decretal issued by Clement IV. This process was continued by John XXII, regarded as the founder of the Avignon regime, who issued two apostolic constitutions, *Ex debito* (15 September 1316) and *Execrabilis* (19 November 1317), whereby he practically secured the monopoly of appointments to most ecclesiastical

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<sup>2</sup> By an ecclesiastical benefice we mean any churchly position, major or minor, which has an income attached to it.

dignities, secular or regular, major or minor, prohibiting, at the same time, their being held in abusive manner.<sup>3</sup> This also had consequences for the Diocese of Transylvania.

The Diocese of Transylvania was the most important Catholic diocese across the territory of the voivodeship and not only, and its basic administrative unit was the archdeaconry (protopresbyterate). The archdeaconries were formed between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries and largely corresponded with the secular administrative units, the counties. The Bishop of Transylvania controlled not only the territory of the voivodeship, but also other areas, such as Satu Mare, Ugocea or the Szekler area. The first archdeaconries, Cluj and Chezdi, were attested in 1199, followed by Dăbâca and Satu Mare in 1213, Solnoc and Crasna in 1214, Saswar (later Ugocea) in 1230, respectively in 1288, Tileagd in 1235, Hunedoara in 1265, Turda in 1274, Alba, Târnava and Ozd in 1277. Therefore, the Diocese of Transylvania included 13 archdeaconries.

According to documents from the first half of the fourteenth century and especially taking into consideration the papal tithe register from 1332-1337,<sup>4</sup> the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Transylvania incorporated a part of the Saxon population, not included in the free provostship of Sibiu. The specific form of churchly organization of the Transylvanian Saxons was the chapter (in its collegiate version) or the deanery.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the Archdeaconry of Dăbâca included the Deanery of Bistrița,<sup>6</sup> the Archdeaconry of Ozd, the Deanery of Reghin,<sup>7</sup> the Archdeaconry of Târnava, the Deaneries of Târnava Mare and Târnava Mică,<sup>8</sup> while the Archdeaconry of Alba comprised the Deaneries of Orăștie,<sup>9</sup> Sebeș,<sup>10</sup> Șpring, Șeica, Laslea, Saschiz, Rupea<sup>11</sup> and Mediaș.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Guillaume Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon (1305-1378)*, Paris, 1912, pp. 386-399; Bernard Guillemain, *Les Papes d'Avignon 1309-1376*, Paris, 2000, pp. 51-55; Jörg Erdmann, *Quod est in actis non est in mundo. Päpstliche Benefizialpolitik in sacrum imperium des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 2006, pp. 35-42; Jean Favier, *Les Papes d'Avignon*, Paris: Fayard, 2006, pp. 224-259; Jorge Diaz Ibañez, *La provisión pontificia de beneficios eclesiásticos en el reino de Castilla durante el periodo avinonés. Estado de la investigación in Lusitania Sacra*, 22, 2010, pp. 63-84.

<sup>4</sup> *Documente privind istoria României, seria C, Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. III (1331-1340), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1954 (hereinafter DIR C, XIV III).

<sup>5</sup> For details concerning the ecclesiastical organization of the Saxons, see Paul Philippi, "800 de ani Ecclesia Theutonicorum Ultransilvanorum" in vol. *800 de ani Biserica a Germanilor din Transilvania*, edited by Thomas Nägler, Innsbruck, 2003, pp. 13-34.

<sup>6</sup> First attested in 1332, in the register of papal tithes.

<sup>7</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>8</sup> Both deaneries were mentioned for the first time in 1309, during a lawsuit of the Saxon deans against the chapter of the Church of Transylvania, presided by the representatives of Cardinal Gentile, the apostolic legate to Hungary - *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. I (1301-1320), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1953, pp. 92-160. (hereinafter DIR C, XIV, I)

<sup>9</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>10</sup> First mentioned in 1303, when there an agreement was made between the dean and Bishop Peter of Transylvania regarding the collection of tithes, DIR C, XIV, I, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> The deaneries of Șpring, Șeica, Laslea, Saschiz and Coșdu were attested in 1309, DIR C, XIV, I, pp. 92-160.

<sup>12</sup> The Deanery of Mediaș was mentioned in 1283, in connection with an agreement between the priests of this unit and the Bishop of Transylvania, cf. *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania, veacul XIII*, vol. II (1251-1300), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1952, p. 249.

The Deaneries of the Saxons included in the Diocese of Transylvania generally enjoyed broad autonomy, this situation repeatedly leading to conflicts with the archdeacons or the Bishop of Alba Iulia. The study of papal tithe reckonings discloses the fact that the archdeaconries of Transylvania had an uneven number of parishes, which also reveals the spread of Catholicism in the area, especially in relation to the Romanian population. Thus, while the Archdeaconry of Alba had more than 100 parishes, including the Saxon deaneries, the Archdeaconry of Hunedoara had only 9 parishes. It should be noted that throughout the Middle Ages, Hunedoara was a prevalently Romanian area of habitation. The Benedictine Abbey of Cluj-Mănăstur and all its assets were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Transylvanian diocese.

In the late twelfth century, the territory colonized by the Saxons during the first wave (the area around Sibiu) was organized as a free provostship, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Esztergom, in his capacity as a papal legate.<sup>13</sup> In the Burzenland (a territory that hosted the Teutonic Knights between 1211 and 1225), there was set up a separate deanery in 1223, at first under the direct authority of the pope, and subsequently under that of the Archbishop of Esztergom. Maramureș was under canonical obedience to the Bishop of Agria.

From a canonical perspective, the Bishop of Transylvania was the suffragan of the Archbishop of Kalocsa.<sup>14</sup>

The issue of the beginnings of the Transylvanian diocese and its evolution up until the fourteenth century has generally been approached in historiography, and resuming it in the context of our approach would serve no end.<sup>15</sup> We shall not dwell any further on this subject.

The beneficial policy of the Popes of Avignon had an impact on the cathedral chapter, in the case of the Transylvanian diocese, during the pontificate of Clement VI. It made its debut quite early, under Pope Clement V, the first pope during the Avignon

<sup>13</sup> Șerban Tucuş, *Fondarea prepoziturii saşilor ca proiect transilvan al Sfântului Scaun în Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Bariţiu din Cluj-Napoca*, XLIX, series Historica, 2010 pp. 21-37.

<sup>14</sup> DIR C, XIV, III, p. 253.

<sup>15</sup> See the following works: Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. IV, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Dacia, 1989, pp. 303-307 (hereinafter *Voievodatul Transilvaniei IV*); Gyula Kristó, "The Bishoprics of Saint Stephen, King of Hungary" in Violeta Barbu (editor) *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*, Bucharest: Ed. Kriterion, 1998, pp. 55-66; Tudor Sălăgean, "Honorius III, Transylvania and the Papacy's Eastern Policy" in *Transylvanian Review*, volume VII, no. 4, 1998, pp. 78-85; Răzvan Theodorescu, *Un mileniu de artă la Dunărea de Jos 400-1400*, Bucharest: Ed. Gramar, 2002, *passim*; Ioan Aurel Pop, *Românii și Maghiarii în secolele IX-XIV*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Tribuna, 2003, pp. 191, 196; Adinel Dincă, *Aprecieri preliminare privind alegerea episcopului Transilvaniei în secolele XIII-XIV în Transilvania (sec. XIII-XVII). Studii istorice*, edited by Susana Andea, Ed. Academiei Române, 2005, pp. 162-186; Șerban Turcuș, *Saint Gerad of Cenad. The Destiny of a Venetian around the Year One Thousand*, Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute, 2006, pp. 18-22 (hereinafter *Saint Gerad of Cenad*); Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Alba Iulia între fondarea eparhiei și capitala principatului Transilvaniei*, Alba Iulia, 2009, pp. 26-36; Jakubinyi György, *Romániai Katolikus, Erdélyi Protestáns és Izraelita Vallási Archontológia*, Kolozsvár: Verbum, 2010, p. 23. On the great Tatar invasion of 1241 and its impact on the Hungarian Dioceses, see Rogerius, "Cântecul de Jale" in *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, vol. V, ed. Gheorghe Popa Lisseanu, Bucharest, 1935, p. 80 (hereinafter *Cântecul de Jale*), I. de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971, pp. 76-81, and J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, pp. 73-91.

period. The latter sent Cardinal Gentile di San Martino ai Monti as legate *de latere* to Hungary (1240/1250 - 27 October 1312). The cardinal was a member of the Franciscan Order and was an intimate of the house of Anjou. Gentile studied in Paris and became a Professor of Theology. He was made cardinal by Pope Boniface VIII in the consistory of 2 March 1300. Between 1302 and 1305, he held the important office of major apostolic penitentiary. He distinguished himself through a prolific activity as a Maecenas. At his order, the Montefiore Chapel was built in the Church of San Francesco in Assisi, where the painter Simone Martini executed a number of frescoes showing the life of St. Martin of Tours.<sup>16</sup> The main goals of the cardinal's mission in Hungary were the definitive imposition of Charles Robert of Anjou as king and the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline in the Hungarian Church.

In order to bring the entire province of Kalocsa back to canonical discipline, Cardinal Gentile demanded, in a document issued at Spoleto on 30 May 1308, that the archbishop should no longer make appointments to ecclesiastical dignities in Hungary, insisting that only he had this right: "we hereby claim to ourselves the right to grant to worthy persons [...] any dignity, office, canonry, prebend or benefice, conjoined with the pastoral care of [souls] or without this task, which are or will be free, in any church, whether it be cathedral or collegiate, in the country and its realms, except those offices of the chapters of churches where those who are placed at their helms, as they are deemed immediately higher after the bishop or are ordained by the path of election."<sup>17</sup> Next, the cardinal stated that "[We hereby prohibit] also the bestowing of benefices and churches, with or without the task of the pastoral care of [souls], of offices or dignities that are vacant or will become vacant, and the taking of measures that concern the clergymen individually or together, the convents, chapters or colleges, wherever they may be, outside the aforementioned cathedral or collegiate churches in the above said country and realms, leaving aside the collegiate churches and the others, which are entrusted with the pastoral care of souls and whose fruit, income and benefices do not exceed the amount of ten silver marks a year, after the customary estimation."<sup>18</sup> Cardinal Gentile firmly prohibited any hierarch from enjoying the free benefices or appointing someone to them, these functions being reserved to the apostolic legate. Thus, under the cardinal's decision, all the ecclesiastical benefices in the Archdiocese of Kalocsa entered under papal control, through the legate *de latere*. The archbishop no longer had control over them, all appointments falling within the area of competence of the Holy See. This decision affected the Diocese of Transylvania, as a suffragan of Kalocsa. Referring to ecclesiastical matters, on 4 December 1308 Gentile cancelled the appointments to churchly dignities that had been made without special papal dispensation.<sup>19</sup>

The starting point of the papal intervention in the Diocese of Transylvania was the document of 8 October 1325, issued by John XXII in Avignon, whereby the French

<sup>16</sup> Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches 431-1600*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990, p. 57; John Paoletti, Gary Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy*, London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005, p. 108; Lilian Zirpolo, *The A to Z of Renaissance Art*, Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2008, p. 269.

<sup>17</sup> DIR C, XIV, I, p. 66.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 70.

pontiff reserved for himself the exclusive right to appoint the Bishops of Pécs and Transylvania.<sup>20</sup>

### **Clement VI and the Diocese of Transylvania**

The first appointment of a canon by a sovereign pontiff in the Cathedral Chapter of Alba occurred on 3 July 1320. At that time, Pope John XXIII appointed Ladislaus, son of Andrew, canon of the Church of Transylvania, in expectation of a prebend. The pope stated that his decision could not be impeded by the rules regarding the number of canons or by the establishments and customs of the Church of Transylvania.<sup>21</sup> This position makes it clear that the pope ignored the local ecclesiastical realities, specific to the chapter, and sent an order from Avignon, which was to be carried out. Papal authority transcended the capitular statutes. King Charles Robert intervened for the appointment of Ladislaus. Between 1320 and 1332, Pope John XXIII appointed a total number of eight canons to the Chapter of Transylvania. From the time of the next French pope, Benedict XII (1334-1342), we have no evidence of any appointment of a canon in the Transylvanian Church. A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that Benedict XII was an austere spirit, a former Cistercian monk, who was concerned especially with the reform of monastic orders and neglected the centralized beneficial policy conceived by his predecessor.

Clement VI resumed the outlook of John XXIII regarding the beneficial policy, adopting a firm policy towards the Transylvanian chapter, and often intervening in the appointment of canons. Thus, between 1343 and 1352 he appointed or confirmed 20 canons.

Mention should be made of the document issued at Avignon on 27 August 1345, during the period of Clement's pontificate, regarding the appointment of the Provost of Alba, Dominic Széchy. From this document we may learn that Dominic requested the pope to confirm his appointment to the post of provost of the Chapter of Alba Iulia. Dominic was appointed provost by the local bishop (Andrew Széchy, his uncle), "who is known to have the right to grant the provostship, and gave, based on his episcopal power, the said provostship, which had thus remained vacant, to Dominic, who was then not of the lawful age to acquire it, as he was then fourteen years old or under, and even appointed him to that [office], and since then, that Dominic, under this donation and appointment, has held this provostship and owned it and still holds and owns it in peace and quiet, reaping its fruits."<sup>22</sup> The new Provost of Alba requested the pope, on reaching the lawful age, "to kindly accept, under [Your] apostolic power, to make up for all that is lacking in this right of donation and [that] appointment and rule that they should have the same lasting power [...], ordering that the bishop's letter on the above should be transferred into an apostolic letter, with all the necessary contents, kindly striking out any lack or disparity he may have caused because of the above."<sup>23</sup> The papal document

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<sup>20</sup> *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. II (1321-1330), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1953, p. 163.

<sup>21</sup> DIR C, XIV, I, p. 367.

<sup>22</sup> *Documente privind istoria României, seria C Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. IV (1341-1350), Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, 1955, p. 249 (hereinafter DIR C, XIV, IV).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.

depicts a situation noticeable throughout the fourteenth century in the relations between the Diocese of Transylvania and the papacy: the superiority of the pontiff's decisions over those of the local bishop. Even though the latter made an appointment to a position in the chapter and especially since he had this right, the decision could not be canonical without papal consent. The pope's decision power exceeded that of the bishop, even if, in this case, it was a matter of interest to the local church, namely the appointment of the capitular provost. This is how the French popes came to control decisions relating to ecclesiastical appointments, even in the most remote dioceses. At the end of the confirmation document, the pope stated that: "We hereby appoint him again and for the first time give him the lawful right."<sup>24</sup> Thus, from the point of view of the Holy See, Dominic's term as provost of the Cathedral Chapter of Transylvania began on the date of the nomination (papal confirmation).

Returning to the appointments of canons, the first gesture of this kind made by Clement VI occurred on 7 May 1343, when Peter, son of George, a cleric in the Diocese of Zagreb, the chaplain of King Louis I, received a canonry in the Transylvanian chapter, pending the receipt of a prebend and a dignity; furthermore, he could keep the canonries and related prebends, which he held in the Chapter of Zagreb, respectively in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár. The King of Hungary intervened in favour of this person.<sup>25</sup>

On 26 May 1343, Stephan, Bishop of Cenad, demanded and received from the pope a canonry in the Church of Transylvania and the prebend with the dignity, honour or service, with or without the pastoral care of souls, for Ladislaus, Archdeacon of Békés in the Diocese of Oradea, his chaplain. Ladislaus also had the archdeaconry, canonry, prebend and the chaplain positions of Paul from Ártánd (a village in Hajdú-Bihar County, Hungary) and Şișterea (the commune Cetariu, Bihor County). The episcopal chaplain was willing to give up the Archdeaconry of Békés.<sup>26</sup>

An unusual request addressed to the pope was made on 4 June 1343. Thus, the congregation of the students from Bologna requested and obtained from Clement VI a canonry in the Transylvanian chapter for Peter yclept of Satu Mare, a cleric in the Diocese of Transylvania, who was a student of canon law in the famous Italian university.<sup>27</sup> A benefice was requested either related to the pastoral care of the souls or not. This character was of modest means, his colleagues in Bologna intervening with the pope for him. On 26 December 1343, Peter became the priest of St. Nicholas' Church in Székesfehérvár.<sup>28</sup> This document is an example of solidarity in a medieval university, as the students asked the pope to help a colleague with meagre materials means.

An interesting appointment of a canon occurred in 1343, when Clement VI appointed his nephew, Guillaume de La Jugié, Cardinal Deacon of the Church Santa

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>25</sup> DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 129; Bossányi Árpád, *Regesta Supplicationum. A Pápai Kérvénykönyvek Magyar Vonatkozású Okmányai Avignoni Korszak*, I. Kötet, VI. Kelemen Pápa 1342-1352, Stephaneum Nyomda, Budapest, 1916, p. 11.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 143; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 144; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>28</sup> Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Maria in Cosmedin (Rome), Archdeacon of Alba Iulia, a post which also involved a canonry in the Transylvanian Cathedral Chapter.<sup>29</sup> It is obvious that the high church dignitary was appointed to this dignity to have his revenue supplemented, but it seems that at first the cardinal did not like his uncle's donation. On 21 October 1343, the pope approved an exchange of churchly positions between the cardinal, who was, among others, a canon in the Transylvanian chapter and Archdeacon of Alba, and Stephen, son of Lawrence from Győr, a canon and a reader in Vác (he was the nephew of Paul, judge of the royal court between 1328 and 1349). Therefore, Stephen became a canon in Alba Iulia.<sup>30</sup> On 23 September 1345, Clement VI allowed his nephew to become a canon of Transylvania and Archdeacon of Alba once again, claiming that he had taken some steps to help the cardinal, whose income was not ample enough to meet the costs incurred by the dignity to which he had been elevated.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, the pope stated: "it is not at the insistence or request of another person, which may have been addressed to us in your favour, but only out of our generosity" that he allowed his nephew to be Archdeacon of Alba; the cardinal had to have an annual income, not in excess of 500 silver marks, but "the said archdeaconry should by no means be counted in the above-mentioned sum."<sup>32</sup> On 30 September 1345, Paul, the judge of the Hungarian royal court, who was on a diplomatic mission in Avignon, requested and obtained from the pope a new exchange of dignities between the cardinal and Stephen, son of Lawrence from Győr. Thus, the nephew of the judge received the provostship of the church in Old Buda and a canonry in Oradea, while the papal nephew became a reader and prebendary canon of Bács.<sup>33</sup> On 20 October 1345, Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié requested and obtained from the pope the annulment of the exchange with Stephen, son of Lawrence from Győr, regarding the Archdeaconry of Alba and the canonry from Bács. Guillaume claimed that when he had made the exchange (according to the document of 21 October 1343), he did not know that his proxies had received for him the Archdeaconry of Sirmium (Diocese of Bács), which he could not occupy because he was not allowed to hold two offices in the same church. Accordingly, the cardinal requested the cancellation of the exchange and permission to keep the Archdeaconry of Alba, a position he had not actually filled because of the opposition manifested by the Bishop of Transylvania. This document makes it clear that Stephen had given up the Archdeaconry of Alba.<sup>34</sup> The case of the French cardinal illustrates the fact that churchly positions were at the discretion of the French popes, who had right to distribute and change them at will, especially if they affected a character like Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, the nephew of the pope.

On 11 February 1344, the pope granted, at the request of Thomas, Comes of Liptó (now in Slovakia), a canonry to Ladislaus of Geburlin in Mintiul de Satu Mare<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 292, 294.

<sup>30</sup> DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 158.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 254.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 255.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 258-259.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 268.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 171; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

(now included in the city of Satu Mare). With an attached income, namely the prebend, the positions of canons were envisaged for the relatives of high ecclesiastical dignitaries. On 9 October 1344, Ladislaus, Archbishop of Kalocsa, requested and obtained from the pope a canonry in the Transylvanian church for his nephew, Ladislaus, son of Bako. The latter also had two canonries with the related prebends in the Chapters of Zagreb and Bács, being also a cantor at Bács.<sup>36</sup> Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugie did not break his ties with Transylvania, and on 10 January 1345, he obtained from his uncle a canonry for Thomas, son of Peter, Provost of St. Lawrence's Church in Hay,<sup>37</sup> who was the cardinal's procurator. Thomas also had one canonry in Bács and one in Oradea.

Luke, son of Ladislaus of Zekeres, obtained from the pope a canonry in Transylvania, on 28 August 1345; the former Bishop of Oradea, Andrew, intervened for him, requesting this grace from the pope, before his death.<sup>38</sup> The recipient of this canonry was a character with high-level connections. We base this assertion on the fact that subsequently, on 25 May 1347, Cardinal Bertrand obtained from the pope for Luke, son of Ladislaus of Zekeres, another canonry in the Church of Transylvania, which had been vacated through the resignation of Ladislaus, Archdeacon of Ugocea.<sup>39</sup>

Another allogeneic character who owned a canonry in Transylvania was John, son of Bertold of Wilkow (the Diocese of Wrocław), the nephew of Nicholas, Chancellor of King Louis of Anjou, who intervened on his behalf with the French pontiff.<sup>40</sup> John, son of Bertold, had two other canonries in Vác and Bratislava, which he could keep. He was appointed on 11 September 1345.

On 28 September 1345, Elisabeth, Queen of Hungary, requested and obtained from Clement VI a canonry in the Church of Transylvania for Master Ladislaus of Prague, the *teacher of Duke Stephen*, the son of the queen and the brother of King Louis I. The appointee could keep the canonries and prebends he held in Esztergom and Oradea.<sup>41</sup>

On 10 November 1345, Clement VI granted Egidiu, son of Valentin, Canon of Oradea and rector of the altar of St. Thomas in the Cathedral of Oradea, a dignity in the Diocese of Transylvania, and on 23 June 1346, he was appointed canon.<sup>42</sup>

The beneficial policy promoted by the French popes was not to the liking of the local bishops. The latter considered that the popes infringed their area of competence. Conflicts were born from this state of affairs. One such case occurred in the Diocese of Transylvania. On 20 June 1346, Clement VI ordered some clergymen in the Dioceses of Esztergom and Zagreb to carry out the appointment of Peter, a canon of the Church of Transylvania, as Archdeacon of Dăbâca. The papal document also reveals that Bishop Andrew of Transylvania did not agree to the appointment and designated another cleric for the post of Archdeacon of Dăbâca, and he gave the prebend pertaining to this post to someone else. The Transylvanian chapter supported the efforts of the diocesan bishop

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 213.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 222; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 251; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 362.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 251; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 257; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 273, 306; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.



for more than a year, and because of its defiant attitude towards the pontiff, the Church of Transylvania was placed under interdict. However, Clement VI stated that the priests had continued to administer the holy sacraments “to the detriment of the said Peter and the vexation of most people.”<sup>43</sup> The pope characterized Bishop Andrew: “a blatant disdainer of the commandment issued by the Holy See, who tramples underfoot the churchly punishment and cannot be restrained by this.”<sup>44</sup> The pope informed the respective clergymen from the Dioceses of Esztergom and Zagreb that they could request the help of the secular power for installing Peter in the Archdeaconry of Dăbâca.<sup>45</sup> The situation of the conflict between the papal decision and the desire of the Bishop of Transylvania shows the limits of the French pontiffs’ beneficial policy. Starting from the fourteenth century, the Diocese of Transylvania was faced with a completely new situation, in the sense that all the appointments to ecclesiastical dignities had to pass through the filter of the papal curia, according to the beneficial policy. This overturned the old rules for the election and appointment of the clergy, in which the local bishop had an important role. The hierarch thus lost his pre-eminence over the priests, whom he coordinated. Bishop Andree tried to resist this phenomenon, but was received, together with his church, the punishment of interdict, through which Clement VI imposed his will, vision and policy over the Diocese of Transylvania.

In the Chapter of Alba Iulia, a canon position was vacated in 1346 along, when Nicholas was consecrated as Bishop of Pécs. On 2 December 1346, the latter requested and obtained from Clement VI that his canonical position should be awarded to Michael, son of John of Zăuan, a cleric from the Diocese of Wrocław.<sup>46</sup>

As previously stated, an archdeacon was automatically a canon too, but it was possible for the appointment to the post of archdeacon to occur before a canonry was granted. One such case occurred in the Chapter of Transylvania. On 25 May 1347, Cardinal Bertrand obtained, from the pope, for Nicholas, son of Valentine, a cleric from the Diocese of Transylvania, the position of Archdeacon of Ugocea, which had been vacated after Ladislaus waived it into the hands of the Papal Chamberlain Stephen, Bishop of Saint Pons de Thomières (Southern France). Nicholas could keep some income from the quarter of the tithes levied in the villages from the Diocese of Oradea, amounting to 20 florins.<sup>47</sup> On 24 June 1347, the pope granted Nicholas, son of Valentine, a canonry and a prebend in the chapter of the Church of Transylvania, who could still keep those tithes.<sup>48</sup>

On 9 November 1347, Clement VI granted a new canonry in the Church of Transylvania to Nicholas, son of Conrad, Canon of Esztergom. The benefice from Transylvania had belonged to Nicholas, who had been consecrated Bishop of Nitra.<sup>49</sup> On 19 June 1348, Stephen, Archbishop of Kalocsa, had requested and obtained from the

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 302.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 303.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 324.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 361; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 369.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 409.

pope the appointment of Luke, son of Alexius, a canon and reader in Zagreb, to a canonry in the Church of Transylvania.<sup>50</sup> On 22 March 1349, at the request of Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, his uncle, the pope appointed Vincent Begonis Castrensis as a canon in the Transylvanian chapter, the brother of his procurator in Hungary and Poland.<sup>51</sup> The last appointment of a canon in the Church of Transylvania made by Clement VI took place on 2 July 1352, when, at the request of the King of Hungary, he granted such a position to Peter, son of Bertold of Brunna (Brno, Bohemia), who was the chancellor of Duke Stephen of Anjou, the brother of the king. Peter had benefices in the Dioceses of Zagreb and Esztergom.<sup>52</sup>

Clement VI's beneficial policy targeted even the lower ecclesiastical positions, such as those of parish priests. This demonstrates that the French popes' policy extended to the lowest levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. On 8 September 1344, the pope ordered the Archbishop of Kalocsa and the Archdeacons of Tilegd and Satu Mare to make sure that Andrew, son of Peter, a parish priest in Dipşa (Bistriţa Năsăud County), would receive the parish church in Orăştie.<sup>53</sup> Subsequently, on 9 October 1344, Andrew, son of Peter, obtained a post as a canon at Székesfehérvár. From his appointment document, we find that the parish of Orăştie was occupied by another cleric (Thomas Martini), who had ignored the previous papal command and did not take into account the appointment of Andrew, son of Peter.<sup>54</sup> From this information, we may infer that the reason for Clement VI's initial demand was the settlement of the new conflict with the local ecclesiastical hierarchy and the enforcement of the papal decision.

The pope made another appointment of a parish priest in the Diocese of Transylvania. On 28 January 1350, Stephen of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine and Bishop of Nitra (1350-1367) had requested and obtained, from Clement VI, for his brother John, a priest from the Diocese of Pécs, the position of parish priest of Cojocna, as of the moment it became vacant.<sup>55</sup> We should mention that up until 1350, this parish had been led by Nicholas, referred to as the Abbot, a cleric from the Diocese of Nitra, who was later appointed Bishop of Zagreb (1350-1356).

The popes of Avignon distributed the so-called expectative graces (the right to receive a benefice as soon it became vacant). On 30 September 1345, Clement VI reserved a dignity in the Transylvanian chapter (*dignemini reservare*) to the priest Benedict of Elijah on the Diocese of Veszprém, who had another canonry in the Chapter of Oradea.<sup>56</sup> It seems that this papal indulgence was not to the liking of that priest, who relinquished it on 11 October 1345 in favour of a dignity in the Chapter of Cenad.<sup>57</sup>

The vastness of the beneficial policy forced the French pontiffs to make some concessions. On 10 September 1346, Clement VI allowed Archbishop Stephen of

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 444; Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>51</sup> Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 244; *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C Transilvania*, vol. X, Bucharest: Ed. Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1977, p. 141.

<sup>53</sup> DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 210.

<sup>54</sup> Bossányi Árpád, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 211; DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 527.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 117.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 121.

Kalocsa to appoint canons in his diocese, but also in the suffragan dioceses, including Transylvania, Oradea and Cenad.<sup>58</sup> A balance sheet of the beneficial policy promoted by Clement VI in Transylvania would reveal that he appointed 20 canons. To these were added two appointments of parish priests at Oraştie and Cojocna and the granting of an expectative grace.

### **Final considerations**

Clement VI was the one who promoted the most intense beneficial policy in the Diocese of Transylvania, of all the French popes. In relation to the Diocese of Transylvania, the outcome of Clement VI's beneficial policy is impressive. During his pontificate, he appointed 20 canons. This massive involvement attests to the refinement of the beneficial policy of the French popes, a mechanism that functioned with sufficient precision at the border of the Christian world too. The analysis of the papal documents that present Clement VI's beneficial policy in the Diocese of Transylvania generates a series of considerations. Thus, it may be noticed that the pope was the supreme ecclesiastical authority, which appointed or confirmed clerics to specific positions. The candidates to canonry were proposed and supported by a powerful Hungarian local authority (the king, the queen, an archbishop, a bishop, etc.). In order for such a candidate to execute his office canonically, papal endorsement was required. The appointees were familiars, or even relatives of major secular and ecclesiastical figures in Hungary. Thus, Clement VI's beneficial policy could not avoid the practice of nepotism, extremely widespread at the time. As regards the characters who requested an ecclesiastical benefice from the pope for a close acquaintance in the Diocese of Transylvania, they can be divided into two main groups: secular and ecclesiastical. During the pontificate of Clement VI, those who intervened to gratify their close acquaintances with canonries were: the King of Hungary, Louis I of Anjou, Queen Elisabeth, Paul, the judge of the royal court, Thomas, comes of Liptó, Nicholas, Chancellor of the King, and the congregation of students from the University of Bologna. From the category of the ecclesiasts who requested the pope to grant canonries to their close acquaintances, mention should be made of: Stephen, Bishop of Cenad, Ladislaus, Archbishop of Kalocsa, Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, Andrew, Bishop of Oradea, Nicholas, Bishop of Pécs, Cardinal Bertrand and Stephen, Archbishop of Kalocsa.

It may be noticed that the most numerous canons were locals, most likely Hungarian (15), but there were also allogeneic elements, especially from Central Europe: two Polish canons (both from the Diocese of Wrocław), two Czechs (both being in the service of Duke Stephen of Anjou, the brother of the King of Hungary) and a Frenchman (Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié, the nephew of Pope Clement VI). This reveals the fact that the Diocese of Transylvania was profoundly connected to the European Catholic space.

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<sup>58</sup> DIR C, XIV, IV, p. 316.

## Annex

## The canons appointed by Pope Clement VI to the Chapter of Transylvania

No.	Name of the canon	The person who intervened for him	Appointment year	Other information and observations
1	Dominic Széchy	He was appointed capitular provost by Bishop Andrew Széchy, his uncle	27 August 1345	He held the post of Bishop of Transylvania between 1357 and 1368
2	Peter, son of George	The King of Hungary, Louis I of Anjou	7 May 1343	He was a royal chaplain and had two more canonries in the Chapters of Zagreb and Székesfehérvár
3	Ladislaus, Archdeacon of Bekes	Stephen, Bishop of Cenad	26 May 1343	He was the bishop's chaplain and had another canonry and other positions in the church from Oradea. He had to give up the Archdeaconry of Békés
4	Peter yclept of Satu Mare	The congregation of students from Bologna	4 June 1343	He studied canon law at Bologna, as he had a modest background, and on 26 December 1343, he became the priest of St. Nicholas' Church in Székesfehérvár
5	Guillaume de La Jugié, Cardinal Deacon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin		1343 post 1345	The beneficiary was the nephew of the pope, who appointed him Archdeacon of Alba. The cardinal wanted to exchange this position with Stephen, son of Lawrence, but later the exchange was cancelled by Clement VI at the request of Guillaume
6	Stephen, son of Lawrence from Győr	Paul, judge of the royal court	21 October 1343 - 20 October 1345	The beneficiary was a canon and reader in Vác and the nephew of Paul, judge of the royal court. Later he received the provostship of the church in Old Buda, a canonry in Oradea.
7	Ladislaus of Geburlin from Mintiul de Satu Mare	Thomas, Comes of Liptó	11 February 1344	
8	Ladislaus, son of Bako.	Ladislaus, Archbishop of Kalocsa	9 October 1344	He was the nephew of the archbishop and also had two canonries with the related prebends in the Chapters of Zagreb and Bács, being also a cantor at Bács

9	Thomas, son of Peter, Provost of St. Lawrence's Church in Hay	Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugié	10 January 1345	The beneficiary was the cardinal's procurator and also had a canonry at Bács and Oradea
10	Luke, son of Ladislaus of Zekeres	Andrew, Bishop of Oradea	28 August 1345	Subsequently, on 25 May 1347, Cardinal Bertrand obtained from the pope, for him, another canonry in the Church of Transylvania, vacated through the resignation of Ladislaus, Archdeacon of Ugocea
11	John, son of Bertold of Wilkow (the Diocese of Wrocław)	Nicholas, Chancellor of the King of Hungary	11 September 1345	The beneficiary was the nephew of the royal chancellor and had two other canonries in Vác and Bratislava.
12	Ladislaus of Prague	Elisabeth, Queen of Hungary	28 September 1345	The beneficiary was the <i>teacher of Duke Stephen</i> , the son of the queen, the brother of King Louis I. The appointee could keep the canonries and prebends he held in Esztergom and Oradea.
13	Egidiu, son of Valentine, Canon of Oradea		On 10 November 1345 the pope granted him a dignity, and on 23 June 1346 he was appointed canon.	The beneficiary was the Canon of Oradea and rector of the altar of St. Thomas in the Cathedral of Oradea.
14	Peter		20 June 1346	He was appointed by the pope Archdeacon of Dăbâca, but faced the opposition of Bishop Andrew and the cathedral chapter
15	Michael, son of John of Zăuan, a cleric from the Diocese of Wrocław	Nicholas, Bishop of Pécs	2 December 1346	The beneficiary received the canonry that had belonged to Bishop Nicholas of Pécs
16	Nicholas, son of Valentine, a cleric from the Diocese of Transylvania	Cardinal Bertrand	On 25 May 1347, he obtained the post of Archdeacon of Ugocea and on 24 June 1347, he received a canonry and a prebend.	Nicholas could keep a series of revenues derived from the quarter tithes of some villages in the Diocese of Oradea, amounting to 20 florins.

17	Nicholas, son of Conrad, Canon of Esztergom.		9 November 1347	The benefice granted by the pope had belonged to Nicholas, who had been consecrated as Bishop of Nitra
18	Luke, son of Alexius, a canon and reader in Zagreb	Stephen, Archbishop of Kalocsa	19 June 1348	
19	Vincent Begonis Castrensis	Cardinal Guillaume de La Jugie	22 March 1349	The beneficiary was the brother of the cardinal's procurator in Hungary and Poland
20	Peter, son of Bertold of Brunna (Brno, Bohemia)	Louis I of Anjou	2 July 1352	The appointee was the chancellor of Duke Stephen of Anjou, the brother of the king. Peter had benefices in the Dioceses of Zagreb and Esztergom

### Other ecclesiastical benefices distributed by Clement VI in Transylvania

No.	Name of the canon	The person who intervened for him	Appointment year	Other information and observations
1	Andrew, son of Peter		9 October 1344	He was appointed parish priest of Orăștie, having been transferred from Dipșa
2	John, a priest from the Diocese of Pécs	Stephen of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine and Bishop of Nitra (1350-1367)	28 January 1350	The beneficiary was the brother of the Bishop of Nitra and was appointed as parish priest of Cojocna
3	Benedict, son of Elijah from the Diocese of Veszprém		30 September 1345	For this cleric the pope reserved a dignity in the Chapter of Transylvania, but on 11 October 1345, he relinquished it in favour of a dignity in the Chapter of Cenad